1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

dysentery; may you have smallpox!" (*Kari berka, kari berka! Ani berka, tapaka berka!*) Quite apart from the fluency this implies, it was a singularly bad bit of cursing, since both are particularly dreaded diseases. To make matters worse his grandfather had just died of dysentery and everyone in the household was afraid of the ghost. [195] 868 865

My evidence for early speech is confined largely to imprecations during temper tantrums, since in most other respects small children were quite shy in attempting to talk. They were to be seen occasionally addressing a few words quietly to an age-mate or asking an older person for something. There was no direct speech training given by adults. In fact, there was a definite pattern of ridiculing the mistakes of children and teasing them about such errors. Children have to pick up speech through the absorptive processes of hearing older people talk and having instructions addressed to them.

DISCIPLINE

This brings us to another element that enters in early childhood and may continue through the entire life of the less assertive adults, especially women. As soon as a child can toddle about and understand commands, it may be sent on errands and ordered by any adult to give small services. In early childhood such services consist of little more than fetching and carrying things at hand. There is no equivalent of *please* or *thank you* in the Abui language, and the tone of voice in which such services are requested is clearly peremptory. As the anecdote just told in connection with talking indicates, children soon learn to rebel. Demands and modes of escape are more clearly developed in late childhood (see Chapter 5), but pressure and resistance are established early. 857 [865]

Since the Alorese have few sacred objects, commands are not loaded with prohibitions. Not all houses contain an ancestral hearth or other sacred objects that children are supposed to avoid. There is little feeling of sacredness attached to any paraphernalia, and taboo restrictions are few and casually observed, so that no heavy burden of learning along these lines is placed on small children. Already at this stage children are not so much debarred from adult activity as given no role in it. This means that such learning as goes on is largely in terms of restrictive discipline and absorption, rather than permissive discipline or deliberate training. 858 861

The preceding paragraphs adumbrate the system of shame, ridicule, and teasing that older children and adults use in dealing with their juniors. For instance, it was quite common when children were crying, for mothers to say, "Shame. Don't you see So-and-so is here and sees 861 865

1:Du Bois E-5 (1918-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

861 you cry." This was true for tears provoked by fright as well as by
865 other causes, when comforting and reassuring the child might seem more pertinent.

855 Again, this system appears more clearly in an older age group (see
865 Chapter 5), but the pattern is set in early childhood. It is customary, for instance, to prod and tug at toddlers in a good-natured and affectionate fashion. One favorite form of such handling is to tug the penes of small boys and to poke fingers or arrows into their distended abdomens or in the direction of their crotches. Under such treatment a child often becomes mildly irritable and aggressive, but any show of temper on his part is greeted with laughter and encouragement in the form of recommendations like "Hit him!" "Kill him!" This encouragement to indulge in physical violence is as inappropriate a form of training for adult life, especially for boys, as can well be imagined. Physical
[857] violence in adult men is one of the most dreaded forms of behavior, since it can have widespread repercussions upon the safety, as well as upon the financial resources, of the whole community.

865 The foregoing might lead one to expect a considerable amount of hitting and scuffling among young children. Actually it is relatively rare. When small children come into conflict, usually over food or some possession either seized or not shared, the commonest form of aggressive assertion is a slyly administered pinch, in which a bit of flesh is caught between the nails of the thumb and forefinger and then twisted. The aggressor usually takes to his heels after such an attack. This behavior is probably the result of parental training. A child who strikes other children will be slapped in return by his adult kin, so that even small children learn very soon to resort to subterfuge.

855 Frightening children is also a favorite device, used especially by adults who are not the child's most immediate kin. For instance, a five-year-old boy was watching a mechanical toy roll toward him on my verandah. He watched with the greatest interest and calm until a young man began yelling excitedly at him, saying it would bite. The older children joined in the yelling, all of which sent the child into a spasm of fear that amused the group highly. Constant threats, accompanied by the brandishing of a knife, are made to cut off children's ears or hands. The adult is playful in his intentions, but some children are seriously frightened by this form of teasing. Children who cry persistently are
[865] frightened with bogeyman characters called Kwokamaug Berka (bad cat of Kwo), Maniakani (black Mani), and Padahavelulua. The usual phrase employed is, "If you are not careful, Padahavelulua will come and hit you."

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

539 passing by, and the father sent the girls up into the house to borrow fire. Pada refused at first to let the girls come in, but they insisted. When they returned, they said the young man was naked but that his face resembled their father's. So the father gave Pada a loincloth and then insisted that he marry the two daughters.

Again the rooster told Pada where his grandmother had hidden monkeys, so that he was able to pay a bride-price. Next Pada wished to build his lineage house. When he gave the feast for thatching the house, his father, mother, and grandmother came. As they left he presented each with a bamboo tube of blood sausage and a basket of rice. However, when the three stopped to eat on their way home, the mother and father on splitting open their tubes found them filled with feces and discovered that their baskets of rice held only hulls. The grandmother, however, had been given good food.

In this story a child is both deceived and deserted as a disciplinary measure. Even the kindly grandmother is unable to give him more than partial succor, and she, too, deserts him through trickery on the beach. Finally the father-in-law gives him the gift of wives, for which of course he must pay. The climax of the story is the child's revenge upon his parents and his better treatment of the kindlier grandmother.

184 539 This tale can be considered a projection of the inconsistency of discipline and consequently the reluctance to accept the results of behavior. Because of the revenge motif it fails quite obviously to point the moral intended when it is told to children as a disciplinary measure. It is almost as if a fantasy compensating for childhood difficulties outweighed the adult responsibility for discipline.

845 There are many other minor devices used to frighten small children, especially to make them stop crying, since during early childhood crying is one of the major problems confronting parents. One such device is a small crude doll representing a warrior with drawn bow. It may be hung under the eaves of a house and whenever a child cries excessively, its mother or grandmother threatens it by saying, "The killer on the verandah will shoot you."

This account would be unduly biased if I gave the impression that only frightening and punishing are used to stop children's crying. The autobiographies provide instances in which crying children are consoled with small gifts, usually food. I have seen a thirteen-year-old boy give a rat to an unrelated child of two to stop its crying after I had taken a toy doll from it. The point to be made once more is not that 841 children are treated with consistent harshness, but rather that either harshness or indulgence may be used in an attempt to quiet them, with

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

the result that the young child can never establish a clear image of punishment for "being bad" or reward for "being good." It is just as likely as not to be rewarded for the "badness" of excessive crying.

TANTRUMS

From even such a brief description any child psychologist should be able to prognosticate one of the outstanding and striking forms of emotional expression in the early childhood of the Atimelanger—the temper tantrum. Rages are so consistent, so widespread, and of such long duration among young children that they were one of my first and most striking observations. A common cause of tantrums is desertion—more specifically the departure of the mother for the fields each morning.

For instance, one child, a little boy of approximately two years who was under observation over a period of nine months, had a violent rage every morning when his mother left. His paroxysms lasted from a few minutes to as many as twenty. He would begin by pursuing his mother; then as she outstripped him he would throw himself on the ground, roll back and forth, and often beat his head on the earth. His mother's reaction was typical in its inconsistency. On successive days I have noted her ignore him, return to comfort him, return to slap him, and return pretending to stay for the day, only to slip away when he had been diverted.

Very rarely is a reward for being good promised a child, and more rarely still is the promise kept. This means that children do not learn to place confidence in words. This, in turn, should slow down the learning process by reducing the use of language as a short cut to incentive and performance. Later in life, when the children are capable of performing real services, they are rewarded more frequently, but by then the reward is in the nature of an economic transaction and one in which the child has no bargaining power.

A clear example of the needs of early childhood and the uncertainties of the person on whom the child depends for its gratifications, is found in a series of statements taken from Tilapada's autobiography. The naïve implications of her account of caring for Maliema, a younger sister, are perhaps more telling than the statements themselves.

"On the way [to the fields] Maliema cried a lot, so I put her down and slapped her. Then I talked nicely to her, and we went on when she was quiet. . . . When Maliema was a little older, she would cry to go to the fields with me. If I was not angry with her, I would take her along to dig sweet potatoes. I would give her the big ones and keep the

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

855 small ones. . . . [I was angry] because she was always crying. She
865 cried to go places, she cried to be fed. I hit her on the head with my knuckles, and then I would feed her. She cried because she was hungry."

853 This passage brings out nicely the two major causes of children's
● 861 distress: hunger and desertion. Just as clearly, it demonstrates the incon-
153 sistency of treatment and the restrictive quality of the discipline that pervades the child's life and which might well be expected to breed in it a sense of bewildered insecurity and suspicious distrust. That a child may be placated and indulged one moment and struck or deserted in the next can scarcely create an image of a secure outer world.

853 In many instances when children under five years cried, it was ow-
865 ing to desertion by an adult—in many cases the mother. Comparable rages may occur before the walking stage, but none came to my attention, although infants in arms cried frequently enough when ill or apparently hungry. The tantrums usually disappear before the child is five, but there were at least two cases in which boys between the ages of seven and nine still had acute rages whenever they found themselves deserted. Many such outbursts are provoked by the parents' slipping out to attend all-night dances.

855 An important subject in any discussion of childhood is the sense of
858 being valued, which may or may not be imparted to children by their cultural and familial environment. There are many opportunities for small children in Atimelang to gain a sense of being valued, but like the discipline, these must be bewildering in their inconsistency. At the end of the afternoon, when people are returning to the village for the evening meal and stop at the dance place for an hour or so of gossip and socializing, the young walkers playing there may be the center of amused and affectionate attention. I have seen three or four toddlers
[845] who were attempting to imitate adult circle dances or male challenge gestures hold the attention of a large group of adults, who encouraged them and laughed with, rather than at, them. This of course was a sudden surfeit of attention and approval in contrast to the day of neglect which the child might just have spent. It represents also one of the few cases of constructive teaching, outside of purely physiological controls, that I saw adults give children.

593 Another experience that many children may have and one that all
586 children can witness is quarrels between parents in which the children
153 themselves are often the pawns. There was the case of Talfani, for instance, a three-year-old girl whose mother and father were threatening to divorce each other. In the course of an all-day quarrel the wife's ma-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

§57 here, as many adults, one finds that skills may be
weighed on the side of one sex or the other, but unskilled interests
[§61] are not frowned upon or subjected to ill-natured ridicule. For instance,
I have seen women laughingly play at beating gongs or shooting ar-
[§22] rows, while men will playfully attempt to weave baskets or pound
grain. In the same way little girls will try their hands at top-spinning
and boys at cat's cradle.

The care of infants is a responsibility in which boys and girls, like men and women, are inclined to share equally. Children of both sexes may at times resent this task, as reference to the autobiographies will show. The following notes illustrate nicely the sort of scene that forcing such duties on a child may produce.

● §61 Early one morning three little boys about twelve years old were
§57 gaily playing marbles on the dance place when Kolang appeared carrying her three-month-old infant. She approached her son, one of the three, and tried to strike him with the side of her clenched fist, as she scolded him for running off without the baby. At first the boy laughed and dodged. Finally, the mother got close enough for two or three blows, all rather light, and then she seized his ears and twisted them until the boy wailed. The mother stood by, still scolding him, but more gently now, and trying to hang the shawl with the baby in it over his shoulder. Some women who were waiting to go to the fields with Kolang joined in berating the boy for his unwillingness to care for his baby brother. Finally the mother picked up a stick and dealt the blubbering boy a soft blow. He then capitulated and swung the carrying shawl over his shoulder. During this episode, his two playmates had gone on playing marbles, paying no attention to the fuss. As soon as the women left, however, the three boys abandoned their game and set off on their daily aimless wandering about the village, the one burdened with his infant sibling.

§57 Although boys quite patently have fewer duties than do girls, they have at the same time more privileges. For instance, at one of the young-corn feasts held in February, boys are the main actors and race through the village symbolically driving out all the rats for the coming year, while women and girls stay tightly shut in the houses. During the communal pig hunt at the end of the dry season, boys may accompany the men to serve as fags, while women and girls are forbidden to approach the hunting camp. At all feasts not only do boys help in the butchering but they are the ones primarily relied upon to play the gongs. No linkage between privileges and duties is established in childhood.

In their play children actually imitate many adult activities. After a burial I have seen children playing death feasts for four or five days in

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

succession. They bent pieces of wood representing gongs. They organ- 357
ize dances comparable to those of adults, in which they compose verses.
This versifying provokes good-natured ridicule among their elders. In
their play with bows and arrows boys learn skill in hunting. They even
organize mock wars between villages, in which they shoot blunt ar-
rows, throw stones, and hurl obscene insults that most adult men would
never use unless they were in an uncontrollable rage. The part boys
play in rat hunting, house thatching, and comparable male activities is
on a voluntary basis and is usually joyously entered into as long as they
are in the mood for it.

In most instances, boys are not counted on to render valuable serv- [357]
ices. Not until they are thirteen or fourteen are they considered old 393
enough to be sent on financial errands. It is a source of considerable 367
pride at this age to be given these assignments, and most boys seem to
carry them out willingly enough. However, in one instance that came
to my notice this was not the case. Nicolas ordered a half brother to
leave early the following morning for a village about a mile away
to fetch a sword that had been promised him. When the boy failed to
set out the following morning and seemed unwilling to go, Nicolas
flew into a rage and began pursuing him with a length of liana about as
thick as his wrist. The boy stumbled and fell, whereupon Nicolas stood
over him and beat him unmercifully. Although Nicolas' behavior was
censured by the men present, none of them made any move to inter-
fere. At last a distant kinswoman tried to drag the boy away from the
rain of blows, but she did not try to stop Nicolas himself. Again there [367]
is the picture of restrictive discipline, sometimes brutal in quality, but
no attempts to train the young through permissive attitudes.

On the whole, my impression is that children, in their curiosity and 357
eagerness about the life around them, more often than not participate in 358
adult activities. Depending on their effectiveness in a particular situa-
tion, they are either utilized or driven off. From the adult's viewpoint,
children are welcome when useful, ignored when not, and chased away
when nonfunctionally obtrusive.

Children are held responsible for their misdeeds, however. One dra- 461 ●
matic case of this sort is worth repeating in some detail. The hero- 858
victim of the episode was a boy about thirteen who was generally 672
known by his nickname, Red Eyes—a name that is about the equiva-
lent of our "Spitfire." Red Eyes was the ringleader of a play group of
boys whose ages ranged from about seven to fifteen years. The rumba
had a guest in his household who happened to stroll past the place
where the boys were playing. For no determinable reason Red Eyes

Li Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

841 yelled at the guest that he had six fingers. Any unfavorable reference to
858 physical appearance or peculiarities is a deadly insult, and in this in-
672 stance the guest took the opportunity to institute a litigation against the boys, demanding a moko worth two dollars and fifty cents as a fine. There was no attempt to deny the guilt of the children, although only Red Eyes was to blame, and the older kin immediately set out to round up the culprits. Several of them managed to escape. Eight others were dragged to the dance place and made to squat on the ground before the bench of the chief. The kin of the children made a proper show of indignation and two of the stricter ones collected the boys' bows and arrows to toss them on the fire. Several of the men rapped their own children sharply on the heads with their knuckles.

672 By this time the younger and less hardened boys were openly in
[598] tears. Meanwhile Red Eyes' father was summoned in his son's stead, and after a long discussion the insulted guest was persuaded to accept a broken gong worth fifty cents as compensation. The tumukun then
847 delivered a moral lecture, which was one of the rare occasions when behavioral precepts were laid down. He said, "If a person is lame, do not stare at him; if someone has big eyes, do not mention it; if someone makes mistakes in talking, do not laugh. If you do these things, people become angry and then your fathers and elder brothers will have to pay a fine for your faults." Here, the tumukun was expounding proper behavior, particularly for males. Another informant, in drawing the differences between men and women, said that men had to be more careful than women not to be insulting, because they were more vulnerable to financial revenge.

672 The anecdote quoted above serves to illustrate many points: First,
858 children are held responsible for misdeeds; second, group responsibility
841 holds even for children; third, a child can escape some of the repercussions of his misdeeds by running off and hiding; and lastly, moral lectures are customarily delivered after, rather than before, the misdeed has been committed.

858 The responsibility of boys for misdeeds, especially theft, is illustrated in a number of incidents in the autobiographies. Perhaps even more far-reaching in its implications is the inclination of people to blame any mishap, destruction, or theft on children. On several occasions when I complained of the theft or destruction of my property, I was answered with a shrug and the comment that boys must have done it and that therefore there was little chance of discovering the guilty one. Actually, in those instances that could be followed up adults were the real culprits.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

parents. Here again, boys, who wear the more highly priced woven cloth, are more privileged than girls, who receive only bark cloth. Both sexes between the ages of eight and twelve hope for the gift of their first shawl. Boys upon request can usually get a man to make them small bows and wooden-tipped arrows, possessions they begin to covet when they are only six or seven. Carrying baskets provided by their mothers are the counterpart for girls. Children of both sexes hope for the hoodlike pandanus rainscapes that add so much to comfort during the rainy season, and most mothers see that their children are provided with them, since their manufacture involves only about two or three hours' work.

All these gifts are small in comparison to the inheritance of fields "when a child is old enough to work" — which usually means between the years of eight and fourteen. Boys and girls alike inherit fields from both fathers and mothers. No distinction is made on a sex basis. The only discrimination is on the basis of industry and aptitude. This inheritance is not so significant as might at first appear. Before the child is told that a particular field is its own, it has probably already helped its parents in cultivating the land. After ownership is transferred, simply by a verbal statement, the field is still worked in collaboration with the family, and in return the child is expected to work in other fields the family owns. The crops raised on a child's field are stored in the loft along with the rest of the year's provisions and are used jointly. The only advantage accruing to the child is that the parents, if they feel they can afford it, will take a portion of the child's produce to the coast to exchange for cloth for his use. In other words, the child's satisfactions from labor are contributing to the larder and perhaps getting the coveted textile. Here again, however, children are largely at the mercy of adults, as portions of the autobiographies indicate. That the advantages are not too patent is shown by the fact that many children have to be forcibly reminded of the virtues of industry.

The unreliability of parents toward their children's property gives an Alorese child early opportunity either to learn the ethics basic to adult property dealings or to develop antagonism not only toward the parents but toward the whole system they represent. This point will appear more clearly in the next chapter.

DISCIPLINE

In any discussion of child training, kinds of discipline and the persons who may administer them are of paramount importance. Theoretically, corporal punishment in Atimelang should be administered

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

only by biologic parents. Theory does not deflect from the parents to designated relatives any portion of the right to punish; there are no avunculate or amitate relationships. In practice, however, theory is ignored. True siblings and parents' siblings are almost as free as parents themselves in rapping children on the head, in pulling ears, twisting mouths, tying up a child, and other such forms of treatment. Furthermore, older boys whose depredations may make them annoying to adults may be struck by anyone who catches them in the act, and adults are free in their use of the loose kinship terminology to justify such corporal punishment. 861

Since parents are not nurturing or idealized figures, physical punishment from them is probably not so acceptable as it might otherwise be. And since corporal punishment may be meted out by any irritated adult who cannot even theoretically claim to be nurturing, it is not to be wondered at that children are resentful and fight back when they are punished.

In addition to corporal punishment, teasing, ridicule, and deception are widely used, not only in disciplining children but also as favorite forms of amusement, especially among young men. I have seen youths in their late teens and early twenties send boys on fool's errands and deceive them with false promises of rewards for services, and then guffaw with laughter when the crestfallen child returned. Fantan the Interpreter one day called to an eight-year-old girl whom we passed on the trail, saying he had just left some honey at her house and she had better hurry home for it. Actually, we had taken some ripe breadfruit to her house but it had been eaten up before we left. On another occasion, a man of about twenty-eight sent a twelve-year-old boy to fetch a bunch of bananas he said he had left at the foot of the village. In return he promised the boy six of them. The boy raced gleefully to the indicated spot but returned saying he had not found them. He was sent off again, and when he returned the second time he realized that he had been deceived. A group of six or seven grown men were sitting about watching the procedure and laughing heartily, to the boy's evident shame and anger. 858 522 867

Under such circumstances it is scarcely surprising that lying is taken as a matter of course in Atimelang. To say "You lie" is considered a statement of fact, not an insult or a reproach. People frequently remark, "He speaks with his mouth, but we do not know what he has in his heart." To speak without regard for accuracy but not necessarily with intent to deceive for one's own advantage is called "talking at random." The most commonplace statements are doubted. When I told friends [967 577 181

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

of its adopted parents and might live down the stigma of its origin if it proved itself adaptable and able. Once such a person had established himself as a competent adult in the community, it was considered offensive to refer to his origin. It is quite obvious that the lot of a person who has been a slave is not a particularly hard one; but that it is a source of fear to children may well be imagined. Fear of being sold into slavery may be intensified by early childhood experiences of parental desertion. The social attitude toward slavery is undoubtedly colored by experiences in early life.

A similar type of kidnapping may be a form of vengeance directed toward parents delinquent in debt payments, so that the child becomes the victim not of his own misdemeanors but of those of his parents. It is a hard lesson in group responsibility for a guiltless child. Such occurrences, however, are undoubtedly rare. My notes contain only one anecdote of this sort, but it is worth repeating for the light it casts on oblique vengeances, the persistence of hostilities, and the value of a child to parents and to strangers. The event must have occurred some twenty years ago.

Lakaseni of Dikimpe, acting for Senmani of Karieta, got a moko from some Fungwati people. It was worth only a dollar and a half, but despite persistent dunning by Lakaseni, Senmani refused to pay for it. The Fungwati people, to place pressure on Lakaseni, kidnapped his child. In retaliation Lakaseni tried to steal Senmani's eight-year-old daughter but was stopped by one of Senmani's sons-in-law. Despite the beating he received, Lakaseni returned the same day to Karieta and managed to steal another of Senmani's daughters, a child of three or four years. He took her to Fungwati and so bought his child's release.

The mother of the stolen child heard what had happened and that night tried to break into the house in Fungwati where the girl was being held. The door was securely barred but she managed to break through the house flooring. Once she was in the house, however, a group of men fought her off. Senmani himself went to Fungwati the next day and pled with his creditors, but they were adamant, saying they would release the child only when he repaid his debt with exactly the same kind of moko he had secured from them. This particular type was rare; Senmani could not find one immediately and the Fungwati people refused to give him extra time to search for it. The next day they sold the child to a distant village for a three-dollar moko. As the narrator put it, "Fungwati and Karieta had been at war and they still remembered it. Even though Senmani cried and cried, they sold his child anyhow."

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

831 By this time other adults had come and, characteristically, entirely pre-empted the children's playthings despite my attempts to prevent it. The men's play with the doll was singularly like that of the children. The interpreter made another breast and the tumukun placed the infant in a nursing position. Then followed some horseplay between the men, in which intercourse between the dolls was suggested. The attitude of some six women who were drawn by the group of boys and men was one of surprise and amazement at the doll figures, but only one of them, a barren, "masculine" woman, picked up the larger doll and played the clown with it in a mock nursing scene. Not only did the other women not touch the dolls, but much sooner than the men they lost interest and walked off.

861 Castration threats occur but seem to be rarely employed. The cases that were reported all happened in late childhood and chiefly in connection with offenses other than sexual (see Rilpada's autobiography, page 272, and Malelaka's, page 331). It is improbable that such threats are to be considered as traumatic as they may be in our culture, where they occur in connection with sexual and excretory activities that are rigorously suppressed. Further anecdotal material on masturbation, castration, and sex play is to be found in the autobiographies.

865 Obscenity both in our terms and in Alorese terms is not uncommon among children. To adults, obscene language from children is reprehensible and merits a scolding if it goes too far, but it is definitely not one of the major sources of friction between children and adults. The following observation indicates the freedom young children have in this respect.

196 865a Two little boys of seven and nine were racing about apparently having a very good time. The older boy began shouting "Vagina" at the younger one, apparently implying that his friend was a woman. The younger boy was answering "No, no!" each time. Finally the older boy elaborated the insult by shouting "Horse's vagina," at which the younger child redoubled his denials and the good-natured pursuit of his tormentor. Adults in the vicinity paid no attention to the children's shouting and seemed undisturbed by it.

The most common obscenity of young children, which to the Atimelanger is little more than a vulgarism, is "vagina" (*boiy*) or "your mother's vagina" (*ea boiy*). These terms also have the connotation of "to have intercourse." Adults, especially women who are given to careless speech, will use this expression frequently as an expletive of surprise. References to male and female genitals are quite freely made, and I have the impression that "evil spirit," the favorite expletive of early

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

[154] saying, "I am pounding your nose, I am pounding your mouth," and so
865 on, enumerating all the parts of the body.

[155] The picture, therefore, seems one of progressive restraint from direct aggression to verbal aggression and of decreasing freeness in verbal aggression paralleling increasing wealth. As we shall see, this situation represents training in an aspect of one of the major emotional functions of wealth in Atimelang.

154 Children may vent aggression and take revenge in the form of spite
865 and ridicule directed toward younger children or toward helpless adults. Matingma the Crazy Woman was the butt of a good deal of ridicule from young boys, who sometimes followed her down the trail imitating her walk and commenting in loud voices on her slack breasts and her promiscuity. In the children's drawings (Chapter 21) one boy represented Matingma the Crazy Woman and Lakamau the Simpleton walking together, to the uproarious amusement of the other children. On another day a boy of about fifteen drew Lakamau the Simpleton while Lakamau was present, to the victim's great discomfiture. It is worth noting that the boy later shared with Lakamau the candy he had received in payment for his drawings. Whether this should be interpreted as a gesture of kindness or a self-imposed fine, I am at a loss to say. It is quite possible that in Alor kindness and indemnification become closely associated concepts. The system of punishing and then [155] placating a child by "speaking nicely" to it suggests that such kindness is a sort of compensation for the discipliner's own irritability, for which he feels the need to atone. It might be considered a kind of indemnification pattern, which is also found in financial relationships.

[155] The spite and revenge that children may direct toward helpless individuals is quite possibly the explanation of adult teasing of children. One can afford to be spiteful only toward people who have no redress.
● 961 The degrees to which adult discipline may be based on such a revenge
154 principle is almost overtly stated in this passage from an autobiography: "Now [as in my father's day] we also talk to the small children and teach them. When we were small and didn't work, our parents took our hands and rubbed them on the ground. [This was done fairly hard and was meant to hurt.] We too educate our children in this fashion. When I didn't work in the fields, father twice had to rub my hands on the ground, and twice he had to tie my hands behind me." There is at least a modicum of moralistic hypocrisy in such a viewpoint.

There is no material indicating that a child ever turns spite or revenge inward upon itself. I know of only one brief episode in which an adult so interpreted the behavior of his child. "When I was five or six I

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

stuffed a pea in my ear and could not get it out. My father was angry and pulled my ear for this. He said, 'Why do you stuff peas in your ear in view of the fact that I don't strike you?' "

No discussion of aggression would be complete without some comments on the techniques of resistance open to children when parental authority becomes too irksome. The most common device is to run away, often after some act of revengeful violence. It is a common experience to see men order a play group of children to do something, only to see the group melt away if the task promises to be unattractive. However, the group forms as rapidly again if some pleasant activity is afoot.

There seems always to be some kin who will offer sanctuary to a child in difficulty. Just as children learn quickly enough to play one parent off against the other, so also they learn which kin will stand up for them when parental demands seem oppressive. The case of Rilpada's rebellion against duties and his mode of escape is worth noting.

"Once mother and I went to the garden; there was a large field house and we lived there. One day she told me to carry Senmani [his infant brother] while she worked. At noon he was hungry and wanted to nurse. I gave him food, but he only vomited it. He cried and cried and wouldn't stop. I cried too. Finally I went and told mother to nurse him, but she wouldn't come. So I took Senmani into the house and laid him down on a mat and ran off to Folafeng. From there I shouted, 'Mother, your child sleeps in the house. If you want to care for it, good; if you don't want to, also good. I am going to Atimelang and play.' I went to the house of my maternal grandmother in the former Atimelang. . . . Mother called, 'All right, you have thrown away your younger brother. Tomorrow you will die.' That evening mother came to Atimelang with Senmani and gave him to my grandfather to care for. In the morning she returned and tied my hands behind my back. She said, 'You wear a loincloth but you aren't old enough to wear a loincloth.' She took my loincloth away from me. Then my grandfather split his shawl and gave me half for a loincloth. I said to my mother, 'You have hit me and you have taken away my loincloth. Now I don't want to stay with you.' Then mother talked nicely to me, but I didn't want to go back. My grandfather said, 'You hit him and opened his loincloth, so now go cut your weeds with your right hand and care for your infant with your left hand. Carry the child in front and your water tubes in back.' I stayed a month with my grandfather, and then mother came back and asked me to go home. So I did, and cared for my younger brother."

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

858 people must abstain from seafoods, and she conversed with ghosts who
771 knew all that had happened. She was assured and autocratic in all she did. She even scolded one of the most influential men of the community, who chanced to be a distant kinsman, for delaying the first feast in connection with the erection of his lineage house. Her tone toward other children was as peremptory as that of adults toward children.

Many details of this anecdote are omitted here since they belong more properly to a discussion of religion, which must await later publication. The episode serves here as a rare, but not unique, instance of singular status achieved by a small child. It demonstrates that even children, to whom the society accords no very high position, may develop devices for wielding power.

CONCLUSIONS

856 This period of late childhood, when children are referred to as
861 moku, is characterized by the disappearance of temper tantrums and the child's acquisition of devices for taking care of itself in its environment. It is also the time when the discipline foreshadowed in early childhood assumes its harshest forms. The restrictive aspects of this discipline range from teasing and ridicule involving shame to actual physical violence or threats of violence. For boys there is very little constructive training for their adult roles, except as their somewhat privileged position in comparison with girls permits them greater opportunity and furnishes them greater incentives for absorptive disciplines.

856 Because boys must search for their food they learn incidentally a
868 great deal about the society in which they live. Girls, on the other hand, are deliberately trained in the food quest and the role they must play as providers.

Girls have a less privileged position but more consistent training and constructive participation in the activities of women. That they may resent their status as women is perhaps indicated by the fact that some of the growing girls assume male roles in play. Both sexes have the
856 same experience with inconsistency in adult behavior toward them. Both learn to assert themselves by running off, by seeking the protection of other kin, and by vigorous and often violent resistance. In certain realms at least, both sexes must acquire a feeling of their undervalued position, although they can depend on the assistance of adult kin in litigations and in sacrifices to placate the dead or malignant spirits.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

it is this circumstance, together with the implied discipline connected with sex, that makes possible the development of an Oedipus complex. The social role of the father is appreciated very much later in life, at which time it may be despotic. He can arbitrarily claim any independent possession of the child and use it for his own ends. In marital arrangements the father is the one chiefly to gain by the sexual value of his daughter. We have thus in the father an individual whose rights over the child are strong but who gives the child practically nothing. The father's control over the children is apparently unequally divided between the sexes; a daughter, by whose marriage the father has something to gain, is more likely to remain in his power than a son. Sons, however, must feel some hostility toward him because of the sexual advantages he enjoys. The young man can have sexual relations only at the risk of incurring financial penalties. This factor must reinforce the already divided feelings toward women that the young man has derived from relations with his mother.

An extremely important point in the relationships of parents to children, and one that has a direct bearing on the absence of inflation of parental imago, is the almost complete lack of reward systems. According to the general principles of psychology, a child can endure frustrations provided certain compensations are made or certain rewards given, either within a short enough time after the frustration in question or expressly related to it. In Alorese culture we have a frustration-reward balance which is extremely poor, and this can only add to the submerged hostility toward the parent. The role of the sense of shame as a basis for the superego is much less satisfactory than more concrete forms of punishment. It lacks the specificity so necessary for correlation with an act which is disapproved and it furnishes no quantitative evaluation of the degree of disapproval. Frightening the child as a disciplinary measure is perhaps more specific—that is, it permits closer connection between the offense and punishment—than shaming, and in this culture can only have the effect of heightening the already high degree of anxiety and of increasing the amount of aggression.

The importance of all these factors is the specific role that they play in superego formation. The tonicity of the superego is maintained by the capacity to internalize the parental ideal. And this in turn is facilitated by the anticipation of rewards. The absence of reward systems means, therefore, that the internalization of the parental ideal must be defective.

As regards the siblings we have a unique situation. Children who

1:DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

593 857 have not much to expect from parents are not likely to have their rivalries among themselves accentuated. In Alorese culture the oldest sibling undoubtedly has the worst time of it; he is constantly being compelled to take on attributes of the maternal role as soon as he is able to do so. Although there is no routine about it he is generally expected to take care of the younger siblings while the mother is tending the gardens. The natural ambivalence of siblings toward each other must therefore be dulled. Such rivalry as does exist is tempered by gratitude and by the fact that they have common enemies and grievances.

864 155 The picture that we get, therefore, on the disciplinary side is again one of inconsistency and confusion. Whereas the child is masturbated as a palliative, a circumstance which would tend to accentuate sexual expression as a form of compensation for other frustrations, this activity is nevertheless later tabooed by implication or rendered impossible to translate into action. The situation as a whole favors a considerable amount of sexual repression which is undoubtedly breached in secret before or during puberty. From this, together with the strong motives for distrust and hatred of the mother and other women, we would expect the usual disturbances of potency. Moreover, in view of the fact that there is no reward system and that ingratiation techniques directed toward the father, who is actually in possession of the family power, are ineffectual, we would not expect any channeling of sexual impulses in homosexual directions. The fact is that homosexuality as such is not known either among women or men. The breast retains a high erogenous value both to children and adults. Castration threats are known but not employed exclusively for sexual misbehavior.

838 832

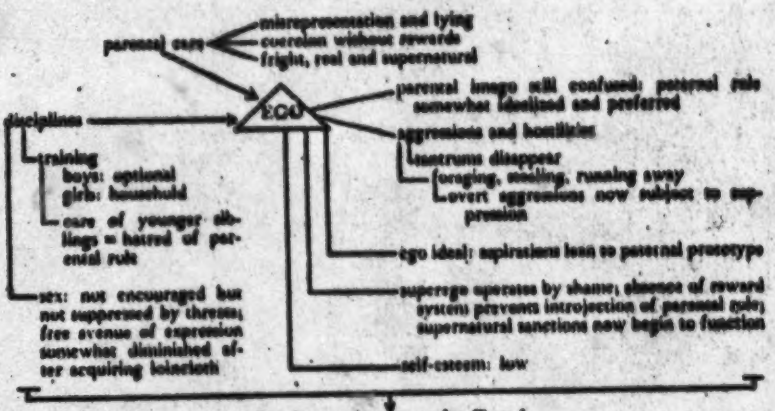
861 155 A final point is to be noted in connection with the general attitudes toward discipline. Frustration rather than punishment is the rule. This frustration takes on peculiar forms. False promises, lying, and misrepresentation must have consequences in at least two directions. They must lead first to a profound distrust of parents and elders, and secondly, to a lack of self-esteem. The poverty of the ego combined with depressed self-esteem is likely to lead to compensatory grandiosity. An additional factor which reinforces these attitudes is the general impermanence of everything, the constant change of abode that prevents the growth of a sense of familiarity and compels the child always to begin all over again. Perhaps the earliest expression of this anxious and helpless situation in childhood is the tantrum. To be sure, this is a form of assertiveness, but it is neither integrative nor constructive. (See Chart I.)

154 865

155 So far we have outlined the primary integrational units, adumbrating many factors which enter the life cycle later. Obviously, however,

1:DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Chart II. Late Childhood


parental care
misrepresentation and lying
coercion without rewards
fright, real and supernatural
disciplines
training
boys: optional
girls: household
care of younger siblings = hatred of parental rule
sex: not encouraged but not suppressed by threats; free avenue of expression somewhat diminished after acquiring loincloth
EGO
parental image still confused: paternal role somewhat idealized and preferred
aggressions and hostilities
tantrums disappear
foraging, stealing, running away
overt aggressions now subject to suppression
ego ideal: aspirations lean to paternal prototype
superego operates by shame; absence of reward system prevents introjection of parental rules; supernatural sanctions now begin to function
self-esteem: low

Resultant traits same as for Chart I.

more distrust and ends finally in the child's complete inability to believe anyone. This circumstance perhaps more than any other is responsible for the weak libidinal ties and the internal sense of isolation that individuals often have. There are no permissive disciplines at this time, and further new sanctions are invoked in the form of supernatural disapproval. It is at this time that the child also learns that none of its rights in the family are inviolate, that gifts received can be revoked arbitrarily, and that even such gifts as fields, gardens, and pigs are really only nominal.

To offset these circumstances the child, particularly the boy, has a channel of expression, perhaps the most common that the culture recognizes, namely, running away. This offers both a safety valve for the pent-up aggressions and an opportunity to sustain the hope that the child may in one of its other relatives find the kind parent so long sought.

One of the advantages to childhood development is the rather laissez-faire attitude toward sexual practices in children. In this activity they can indulge, surreptitiously to be sure, but without fear of serious punishment. However, it must be noted that sexual activity in children is tolerated rather than permitted or encouraged. The child's pilfering and its opportunities for sexual activities with other children in some measure keep in balance those constellations already formed in early childhood. The activities afford some expression for pent-up hostility, but the situation is very little altered. It is likely that these oppor-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

159 bring us some more in your basket." [Did you want to?] Yes. They were my elder brothers, and so I said I would. [What did your mother say?] She said that since my elder brothers had eaten it, I had better take them some more.

[I asked whether she felt that they usually had less food in their home than others had in theirs. She didn't seem to grasp the idea.] If [261 476] one is hungry and hasn't food, one can work for another person and will be given a bundle of corn in payment. Or if one hasn't enough, a [572] friend may help by inviting one to come dig in the garden for tubers. [Did your mother have such a friend?] Yes, Kolangkalieta. [The mother of her own friend, Kolata. The mother is also called simply Kolang in this account.]

[Long pause. I told her to go ahead. She sighed heavily. This was the first time she had permitted herself this sort of emotional expression.] Occasionally, if Kolangkalieta sat all day and didn't go to her garden, mother would put tubers she had dug into a calabash dish and give them to her. When Kolangkalieta went to File, where she had a garden, she would bring us back kanari nuts and give them to us to eat.

[I asked about the elder sister, Falepang, who was sick.] Once when I went playing, Falepang and mother stayed in the house. When they cooked, mother said, "Don't save any for Lomani; eat it all up." [Why?] ● [861] Because mother told me to wait until the food had all been served before beginning to eat and said I should eat with my sisters, all of us together. So I said, "If that is so, I don't want to eat." And I went away. Then Falepang took one spoonful for herself and the other she put aside for me. She ate every other spoonful; she hid the half she had saved for me, so mother would not see it. Then when I came home Falepang called to me to come up, and she gave me the food she had saved. She said, "Mother is often angry, and she didn't want to save food for you, but here is some." Then Falepang sent me for greens. We added them to what Falepang had cooked, and we ate together. Then Falepang said I should go fetch some bamboo so that she could make me a basket. When I went out, Falepangmai and Kawaimani wanted to come too; so all three of us went. We brought it back, and Falepang wove us baskets. She made big ones for the older ones and a [235] little one for me. She overlaid them with tua bamboo. She knew how to overlay either the whole basket or only the top and bottom. She said, "The big ones are for you, and you can fetch corn and greens in them. The little one is for Lomani, and she can fetch grasshoppers."

Once there was a dance in Alurkowati. The day before, Falepangmai